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The Shape of Things

BY ORDERING AMERICAN NAVAL FORCES TO occupy Iceland, after an invitation from the government of the island, the President has taken a very positive step toward winning the Battle of the Atlantic. At the same time he has made sure of an outpost for the defense of America the importance of which is admitted even by some of the bitterest isolationists. Yet it is not a move which directly threatens Germany or which can be construed as an overt warlike act. What it does is to interfere with the German blockade and to forestall any German attack on Iceland such as the Nazi High Command may have contemplated in connection with plans for invading Britain. The President's action, however, need not lead to a shooting war unless Hitler takes the initiative and attempts to make good his threat to sink all ships entering Icelandic waters. If he does this, the American navy will undoubtedly go into action, for its instructions are to insure safe communication between the United States and Iceland. Actually, while volumes of bluster and bad language may be expected from Berlin, we shall be surprised if Hitler decides to treat this new move as a *casus belli*. He is still intent on staving off American entry into the war, and this means that he is forced to swallow every "short-of-war" measure with the best grace he can. Britain is naturally delighted by the President's action. If Iceland can be used as a safe harbor under American protection, the task of the convoys will be immensely lightened.

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THE SITUATION ON THE RUSSIAN FRONT remains obscured by the masses of tendencious reports put out in Berlin and Moscow. Striking a mean between the less extravagant claims of both sides, it seems not over-optimistic to conclude that the Nazi army, after making very rapid advances, has at least been slowed down. For several days now the communiqués of the German High Command have been very uncommunicative. The official DNB agency and other German sources have attempted to fill the gap with accounts of sweeping successes, many of which seem wildly exaggerated. For instance, the claim is made that nearly 7,000

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Russian planes have been put out of action, although there are many indications that the Russian air fleet is still fighting. The Soviets, for their part, have published the equally unlikely story that German losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners already amount to nearly a million. Both sides declare that the fighting has been extremely fierce, but there is some reason to suppose that the Red Army held the newly added western Soviet provinces comparatively lightly and that only since the Germans approached the Stalin line have they clashed with the main Russian forces. Even so the German control of wide pockets between the thrusting Panzer fingers seems far from established. Soviet claims that large-scale guerrilla fighting is spreading in the rear of the Nazi advance are partly confirmed by guarded German admissions. Meanwhile in the west the R. A. F. is stepping up its offensive. Day and night raiding is being directed against objectives along the invasion coast and is cutting an increasingly wide swath through western Germany. For nearly a week very little opposition was encountered, but now German fighter units are again reported over northern France. Is this an indication that Göring has been forced to return some squadrons from the Russian front?

✶

GENERAL WAVELL'S TRANSLATION FROM THE position of chief of the Middle Eastern armies to that of commander-in-chief in India is still unexplained. Not unnaturally it has given rise to some unfavorable comment in Britain, as well as to rumors of disagreement between Downing Street and Cairo headquarters. General Wavell has had his ups and downs, but he leaves his Middle Eastern station with great achievements to his credit. His drive into Libya was a brilliant campaign, and if its fruits were dissipated later, they were sacrificed to a political decision to defend Greece. Political calculations, good or bad, may also be responsible for the slowness of the Syrian campaign, for which he has been criticized lately. The British sought to capture Syria with as little bloodshed as possible, hoping, perhaps, to avoid a general war with Vichy. The belief that there would be little resistance proved unfounded, but so were the fears that Vichy would retaliate by attacking the British fleet. In any case steady progress is now being made in Syria, and there are many signs that the French commander there may soon seek an armistice.

✶

RECOGNITION OF THE JAPANESE PUPPET regime at Nanking by Germany and six of its satellite states, including Spain and Italy, may either have been an attempt to make a favorable impression on the Japanese in the hope of influencing their decision regarding the European war or part of a definite bargain between the Axis powers. Of the two possibilities, the second seems the more likely. If Germany had been trying to influence Japan, it would presumably have announced its recognition of the Wang Ching-wei regime before the Japanese reached a final decision regarding policy. Actually, notice of Germany's action came on the same day as the announcement by Tokyo that Japan had determined upon its policy—the nature of which is yet undisclosed. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Germany's action was part of a general Axis bargain. What this bargain is can only be surmised. Chungking is convinced that recognition of the renegade Wang was extended in exchange for a Japanese pledge to blockade Vladivostok so as to prevent American supplies from reaching the Soviet Union. This seems to be borne out by intimations in Tokyo that Japan is considering the closing of the straits through which American aid to the Soviet Union must pass. But some foreign observers in Tokyo believe that the Japanese decision was to turn southward against Singapore and the Dutch East Indies. If a bargain was made, it may be taken as a sign of German weakness. For despite Japan's Axis ties, the Nazis have been most loath to recognize the Chinese puppet regime. Germany has vast commercial interests in China, and it knows that the "new order" in East Asia means the end of German as well as British and American trade in China. Recognition of Wang seriously prejudices that trade in the event of a Chinese victory. It would be interesting to know why Hitler felt it necessary thus to compromise Germany's interests in the Far East.

✶

WAR HAS COME TO THE AMERICAS IN THE form of a serious clash between Ecuador and Peru over a disputed jungle area. In ordinary circumstances a clash between these two countries would receive little attention in this country. But in a world of war there is always danger of hostilities spreading. Both Peru and Ecuador have provided a fertile field for Nazi propaganda. While there is as yet no definite evidence that the clash was inspired by Nazi agents, democratic leaders in Argentina charged several weeks ago that the Axis powers were seeking to foment war between the two countries in order to break hemispheric solidarity. The Argentinian government has taken steps to bring about mediation, in conjunction with Brazil and the United States. The task will be complicated by the century-old roots of the dispute. Our own State Department must not leave a stone unturned in the effort to secure a settlement before Colombia or some other nearby country is drawn in.

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GENERAL MARSHALL'S REQUEST FOR REPEAL of the laws restricting the field of operation of soldiers obtained through the National Guard or Selective Service would seem only common sense in view of Hitler's way of waging war. Some of the outposts most vital to Amer-

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ica's defenses—such as Iceland and Dakar—are outside the Western Hemisphere. Many of our best divisions contain not only soldiers of the regular army but members of the National Guard and drafted men. It is desirable that the trainees continue to be mixed with the experienced soldiers of the regular army, but it would be manifestly impossible to maintain such an arrangement if soldiers of the regular army alone were to be available for overseas duty. General Marshall's request that the period of training of men called through the National Guard and Selective Service be extended beyond one year also seems to be based on strategic necessity. But fairness demands special consideration for the individuals who are called upon to make this additional sacrifice. A modern army requires highly trained men, and it is only right that they be adequately compensated for their skill, not held to the $30 a month now paid, after four months of $21, to all draftees regardless of their abilities.

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THE TAX PROGRAM AS COMPLETED BY THE House Ways and Means Committee fully justifies the pessimistic predictions made in *The Nation* two weeks ago. After scaling down the income and excess-profits taxes from the Treasury proposals, the committee was forced to impose a series of excise taxes in order to approximate the revenue anticipated in the Treasury's program. Among the regressive taxes agreed upon are levies on telephones, cosmetics, moving-picture admissions, matches, candy, chewing gum, playing cards, and automobiles in use. Altogether excise taxes are counted on to produce more than $1,000,000,000 of the $3,500,000,000 to be raised by new taxation. Some of the new excise taxes, such as the levies on furs, jewelry, cabarets and night clubs, and coin machines, are on unnecessary luxuries, and others, such as those on washing machines, radio sets, phonographs, electrical appliances, tires, and tubes, are designed to divert labor and materials from industries which compete with defense industries. But the bulk of the excise taxes will bear hardest on low income groups. The taxes imposed on new automobiles, radios, and other consumer durable goods which compete directly with the defense effort are more suitable for producing revenue than for restricting production. It is doubtful whether they are sufficiently high to curtail consumption in a period of increasing incomes. This is unfortunate, because prohibitive taxation is one of the most effective weapons available for shaping the national economy to an all-out defense program.

✶

A VICTORY WAS WON FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES when the House rejected the wire-tapping bill by a vote of 154 to 146. Although the bill was asked for by the FBI, supported by Attorney General Jackson, and indorsed by the President, its chief support in the debate came from Congressmen ordinarily to be found in opposition to the Administration. Leading New Dealers in the House spoke and voted against the bill. Among them was Thomas H. Eliot, the youthful Congressman from Massachusetts, who confessed that the President's letter on the need for a certain amount of wire-tapping in a limited class of cases had left him unconvinced. The failure of the Department of Justice to bring forward any witness for the bill other than Alexander Holtzoff, special assistant attorney general, seemed to have a bad effect on those considering the measure. Complaint was also made during the debate that "virtually no evidence" had been given to show that wire-tapping was effective in combating crime. The arrest of twenty-nine German spies the night before the vote elicited the sour comment from Congressman Casey of Massachusetts, another opponent of the bill, that to announce these arrests "the night before the bill came before the Congress, after having been pending for two years, shows a great sense of timing on the part of the Department of Justice." The A. F. of L., the C. I. O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods all opposed the bill.

✶

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FINDS THE oddest menaces in the oddest places. Making his debut as Acting Attorney General, Francis Biddle has brought charges of "seditious conspiracy" against the tiny Trotskyist Socialist Workers' Party in Minneapolis. Among the leaders being prosecuted are the well-known Dunne brothers, who also dominate Local 544 of Dan Tobin's Teamsters' Union, which recently decided to withdraw from the A. F. of L. and join the C. I. O.—a move which greatly irritated Mr. Tobin. Now the FBI has unearthed a resolution passed by the Trotskyists as long ago as January, 1938. Couched in time-honored Marxian phraseology, this resolution declared that the S. W. P. would fight against any new war which the United States government might enter and would "advocate the continuance of the class struggle . . . and try to prepare the masses to utilize the war crisis for the overthrow of United States capitalism and the victory of socialism." This apparently is the "overt act" which has led to the Dunne brothers being charged with violations of Sections 6, 9, and 10 of Title 18 of the United States Code. It is a criminal offense, according to these sections, to "plot the overthrow of the government by force or to undermine the loyalty, discipline, or morale of the armed forces." Surely there are more serious conspiracies against the government and more insidious attempts to undermine military morale which should be given priority in the Department of Justice over the vaporings of an obscure political sect. In this connection we should like to draw Mr. Biddle's attention to the activities of Francis P. Moran, Christian Front leader in New England.

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IF HITLER HOPED TO ENLIST CATHOLIC support by his crusade against Bolshevism, he seems to have made a serious blunder. The Pope has carefully refrained from mentioning the Soviet campaign in the two addresses which he has given since Hitler's attack on Russia. And the Catholic bishops of Greater Germany have significantly seized this occasion to issue a pastoral letter denouncing the anti-religious tendencies and actions of the Nazi regime. The letter was amazingly vigorous in view of the reprisals which the Nazis have inflicted on religious critics in the past. While protesting loyalty to the German government in its war effort, the bishops intimated that there was a limit to the sacrifices the church would make for an anti-religious Nazi state. In our own country Bishop Hurley of the St. Augustine diocese has vigorously denounced the idea that Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union has turned the war into a holy crusade against communism. Declaring that the Nazis remain the No. 1 enemy of America, he went so far as to propose that the power of declaring war be put in the hands of President Roosevelt as a matter of strategy. While a large number of Catholic spokesmen in this country have been either isolationist or on the fence with regard to foreign policy, there is every reason to believe that the majority of Catholics, like other Americans, are anti-Nazi and supporters of the country's foreign policy. The forthright stand of the German bishops should cut the ground from under the small clique who have been playing Hitler's game under the guise of anti-communism.

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GEORGE W. NORRIS, WHO TURNED EIGHTY on July 11, is the type of American we like to think about in times of stress. A man of common sense, tough as nails, bright as a dollar, simple as an old shoe, honest as the day is long. All the homely phrases fit George Norris; but he is also a man of vision and understanding. His common sense, as opposed to that of the Coolidge variety, dictated his long fight for the planned use of our natural resources for the benefit of the country as a whole; and the TVA is a monument to Norris, as well as a model for the future development of people's power, in both senses of the term. He has been a lifelong defender of the rights of labor because he understands what the middle class is so slow to realize, that labor, in defending its liberties and its standard of living, is preserving the liberties and standards of the whole population. Twenty-four years ago Senator Norris was one of the few men in Congress who opposed our entry into the first great war. Today he says that Hitler must be crushed by force if necessary. And in one sense the battle lies between self-appointed "leaders" operating by tyranny and slavery and the unassuming Norrises working with the slow but sure weapons of democracy. We have placed our bet on the Norrises.

THE SENATE HAS ACQUIRED A NEW BUFFOON and demagogue with the election of Governor W. Lee O'Daniel of Texas to serve out the unexpired term of the late Morris Sheppard. Governor O'Daniel's "razzle-dazzle" methods of campaigning were vividly described in *The Nation* of June 21 by Roland Young, who also pointed out that his backers are as reactionary as his antics are ridiculous. Representative Lyndon Johnson, the New Deal candidate, ran a very close second, losing by about 1,100 votes. The only cheerful note in the fantastic election—there were twenty-nine candidates promising everything from a five-ocean navy to free mattresses—is the poor showing made by Martin Dies, who ran a poor fourth.

Memo to Britons

YOU have often heard that the United States is a democratic country. There is an exception—our State Department. Its spirit is un-American, its atmosphere is pseudo-aristocratic, its ways are secretive. A large section of its permanent bureaucracy and higher officials are, if not sympathetic to fascism, at least unsympathetic to democracy. There is nothing much we can do about it until the President decides to shake up its staff and bring the department into line with the New Deal. Why he has waited so long is as much a mystery to us as it may be to you.

We want you to know that we are as shocked as you are by the news that our State Department has brought pressure on the British government to permit shipments of American oil and other supplies to Vichy-dominated North Africa; and that the State Department's action was not the result of any decision arrived at after democratic debate in Congress or elsewhere.

The idea that Weygand can be weaned from Vichy by special favors seems to us as dangerous as the idea some of your own diplomats nourished—that Mussolini might be weaned from the Axis, Göring separated from Hitler. We think it a pity the British authorities did not bring the Schéhérazade and the American oil this huge French tanker carried into the port of New York or Philadelphia. We're suffering from a shortage of oil on the East Coast ourselves.

When Sumner Welles, our Under Secretary of State, described the new arrangement between Washington and Vichy as "a farsighted, useful economic interchange at this time," he wasn't fooling us and we know he wasn't fooling you. He says we will get "strategic materials" from North Africa, but the only strategic material on the published list of goods to be sent here is cork. We can seen nothing "strategic" about "olive oil, essential oils for perfumes, gum arabic, salt, flourine, tartar, sheep casings, and red squill," the other materials we are to

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receive. As for red squill, Vichy needs it more than we do. Red squill is rat poison.

North Africa is to receive not only oil and food but machinery "and everyday articles of commerce" under the agreement. Mr. Welles says that they will be sent "under strict military guaranties" and that the arrangement will end "automatically" if these guaranties are violated. We hasten to assure you that the average American isn't so stupid as to believe these "guaranties" worth the paper they're written on. Vichy is ruled by men who betrayed their country. Men who will betray their own country are unlikely to keep their word to another.

We note that Mr. Churchill seems to have been embarrassed by the questions raised in the Commons on the decision to lift the British blockade for these shipments. He seemed fearful of offending an ally. We believe that the British government would find the widest support among the American people if it ignored the wishes of the little handful of men in our State Department and refused navicerts for these shipments.

The Free World

READERS of *The Nation* will recall the broad interest aroused by the publication on December 14, 1940, of an article by J. Alvarez del Vayo on The Duty of the Emigré, proposing a union for common political action of all the democratic national forces. A vigorous discussion followed, in which several spokesmen of the anti-fascist European groups, although differing on matters of detail, agreed with the Spanish leader that this war could not be won by planes, tanks, and guns alone, but that a combination of military and political effort was essential to victory.

The idea of a union of anti-fascist forces has now materialized. With the cooperation of certain American organizations engaged in the fight against Hitlerism, a conference to discuss the whole problem was called in Washington on June 15. At that conference, in which representatives of sixteen countries participated, it was decided to found the International Free World Association, and an organizing committee was set up. On July 3, the eve of Independence Day, in a symbolic broadcast celebrating the "Declaration of World Independence," the creation of the new organization was officially announced by short-wave transmission to all countries.

The Free World Association does not intend to interfere with other organizations fighting for similar aims. It is conceived, rather, as an instrument for the coordination and strengthening of existing efforts. Its principal aims are, first, to help win the war against Hitler; and, second, to contribute to the organization of a democratic world based on principles of collective action, social security, freedom, and justice.

While the association has engaged itself not to intervene in the internal policy of any really independent and sovereign state, in the countries occupied and subjugated by Hitler its activities will be aimed at promoting by every means movements of revolt and opposition to the Axis invaders.

Clark Eichelberger, acting chairman and national director of the Committee to Defend America, has been appointed acting director of the Free World Association, and the general secretary will be Louis Dolivet, a French authority on international affairs, who contributed Underground in France to *The Nation* of May 10. Four chairmen will be selected—one from the United States, one from Latin America, one from Europe, and one from the continent of Asia.

Concurrently a new monthly magazine, *Free World*, devoted to international relations and the fight for democracy, is being launched. The first issue is already in preparation. This journal will be made available to our readers at a modest rate and will serve as a valuable adjunct to *The Nation*.

On the International Honorary Board of the magazine and on the Executive Board of the association are many of the most responsible and consistent representatives of the democratic movement on the different continents. Among them are Harold L. Ickes, James T. Shotwell, W. Wesley Waymack, Frank P. Graham, Walter Millis, Dorothy Thompson, Henry A. Atkinson, Raymond Gram Swing, Quincy Wright, Max Ascoli, Archibald MacLeish, John Gunther, Freda Kirchwey, former President Alvear of the Argentine, former President Cárdenas of Mexico, President Benes of Czechoslovakia, Count Sforza, former Foreign Minister of Italy, Professor Hugo Fernandez Artucio of Uruguay, Guillermo Labarca, the prominent liberal Chilean leader, Miguel Ozorio de Almeida of Brazil, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, Lord Robert Cecil, Harold J. Laski, and Sir Norman Angell of Great Britain, Carl J. Hambro, president of the Norwegian Parliament, J. Alvarez del Vayo, former Foreign Minister of Spain, Pierre Cot, former Air Minister of France, Li Yu Ying, president of the Chinese Academy, Edouard Montpetit of the University of Montreal, and others.

If this association and journal succeed in articulating and then transforming into action the experience and the passionate hatred of tyranny concentrated in the men named above, they will provide the democratic cause with a powerful political weapon. Great courage is required and an almost equal amount of forbearance; both national differences and factional divisions within the national groups must be overcome. But the successful conquest of such obstacles is the first essential step toward the achievement of a decent post-Nazi world. No new organization ever faced a more challenging opportunity; *The Nation* offers the *Free World* and the Free World Association its support and fervent good wishes.

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Blue Sky Over Scotland

BY CARL SANDBURG

[*On the news of the landing of Hess in Scotland I picked up a guitar and found myself singing a song which seemed to have the title "Blue Sky Over Scotland." The verses have a tuning. Readers are free to swing these or to move them. And there is no statute which provides that they may not shift into the classic.*—C. S.]

Down out of duh sky over Scotland who come a tumblin, who come a tumblin?
Blue was duh sky over Scotland, high over, blue over, deep blue, over Scotland
Sweet blue, duh sky, when lo and behold, who come a tumblin, a tumblin?

Down he come in a parachute, like a big white umbrella open and wide holdin him,
Down in a parachute, fallin, fallin, out of the sweet blue sky spread out,
Down he come like a good new messenger, like a world series, like a wonder.

Out of duh sky he fall like he got business, like he got words to tell 'em,
Like he know where he come from in duh mornin, where he going in duh evenin,
Like he got answers in his heart, like he got answers on his tongue.

Easy on down she come like a feather, like a flicker, easy on down she come,
Like somebody slipped on uh ladder to heaven en Gawd seen him slippin on down—
En Gawd says, "Ahm going to let you down easy—keep your shoes shined."

Duh parachute zig and duh parachute zag and Death come a-creepin around,
Old man Death figgerin maybe he going to pick him up a few bones, white bones.
Like a crow get fooled, like a buzzard get fooled, old man Death got fooled.

Farmerman seen him fallin, farmerman pick up feet and run and run,
Farmerman find him on duh ground feelin where he busted uh ankle, just uh ankle,
Duh wind was nice to him, duh weather was right, duh blue sky nice, so nice.

He might uh busted his neck fallin dat long fall out uh duh big sky high over.
He might uh busted his kneebone, legbone, armbone, thighbone, shoulderbone, headbone.
Farmerman find him layin easy, laughin a little—only a busted anklebone.

Out of duh big blue sky over Scotland, lo and behold he come a tumblin down.
Where from, dey asks him, where from who and why and how—and who? who is you?
Identification tag tells 'em who—bright gold identification tag tells 'em.

Hess is de name, Rudolf Hess, Mister Rudolf Hess of Berlin is de name.
He tells 'em, papers in de pockets tells 'em, identification tag tells 'em.
Maybe you done heerd about me, his eyes sayin, maybe you done heerd.

Dey gets a nice cyah, cushions and all, and dey handles him easy, soft like.
Ain't his name Hess? Ain't he nice to come down from duh blue sky over Scotland?
We gonna take care of you, Mistah Hess, we gonna be good to you.

In duh hospital dey gives him a room by hisself so he can lay and think and study.
Does he want ham and eggs he gets sugar-cured ham and fresh-laid eggs, one side or over.
Does he like chicken and gravy, coffee with cream and sugar, dey lays it out for him.

All by hisself, in a corner by hisself, in a room dey know where he is dey keeps him.
And dey talks to him easy, dey comes and dey goes talking to Mister Rudolf Hess.
And nobody know what Mistah Hess sayin, talkin, tellin, outside nobody know.

Many people glad, so glad, Mistah Hess done decide come away fum Mistah Hitlah.
Like old friends dey was, like bosom companions dey was, like David and Jonathan.
Sayin one about duh othuh, "He can have duh shirt off my back."

Now it ain't like it used to be all duh while twixt Mistah Hess and Mistah Hitlah.
It don't look so good like it was in duh good old times dat used to be.
Evvybody asking, "What foh? who dat? how come? why dat gold identification tag?"

People lookin up at duh blue sky over Scotland now, wonderin, studyin, askin,
"Who gonna come, come a tumblin out uh duh sky next? who next, what man come next?
Mistah Hess, what he sayin, what he talkin, tellin, talkin, talkin, talkin?"

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Blackmail of the Right

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE real cause of the collapse of democracy in Europe was the lack of courage of the anti-fascists in resisting the blackmail of the right. The war in Spain offers an unsurpassable example of this. Everywhere the fight of the Spanish people for national freedom and against fascist aggression was characterized as a Communist enterprise, and this weakened the action of the democracies and led them to forfeit a supreme opportunity to stop Hitler and avoid the present war. Berlin understood admirably that it was as important to confuse the democracies and to blackmail them by branding every supporter of Republican Spain a Bolshevik as to send Franco tanks and guns. The same maneuver was repeated in the case of Czechoslovakia. One still hears the French bourgeois crying, "Czechoslovakia may go to the devil; French boys are not going to die for Moscow."

The right has succeeded until now in manipulating the liberals at its pleasure, and the danger remains that it will succeed again and again. Everything has its explanation, and I suggest that the explanation in this case is the unpleasant one that everywhere the right has shown more courage and audacity than all the liberal forces put together. Reactionary newspapers attacked liberal papers for defending a "foreign ideology," but themselves never hesitated to talk like the *Völkischer Beobachter*. Politicians of the right felt free to insult the left for its foreign associations, but the same men, with calm contempt for the opinions of others, would accept decorations from Hitler. One can easily imagine the scandal that would have been spread by the reactionaries if an eminent liberal scientist or writer had been honored with the Order of Lenin. The right has never shrunk from the accusation that it supported totalitarian "foreign" ideas, or allowed the left to decide for it who should be its allies. But the liberals have many times been afraid to appear openly as liberals and have submitted meekly to the blackmail of the right.

While Daladier, in the days of Munich, shivered at the idea that he might be accused of wanting to bring his country into the war, Flandin plastered the streets of Paris with his infamous telegram congratulating Hitler on his victory over France and England. Léon Blum as Prime Minister was paralyzed in his action throughout the Spanish war by the fear that he might be accused of allowing his socialist ideas to determine his policy toward Republican Spain. The French reactionaries, however, publicly supported German-Italian aggression against a country whose conquest by the Axis was a deadly threat to the security of France.

With a few important exceptions, the right has sponsored the policies that brought Europe to its downfall. Everywhere it has betrayed the highest interests of the nation. Out of its ranks has sprung the "vile race of Quislings" whose ultimate fate was so boldly announced by Mr. Churchill a few weeks ago. Its blackmail of the timid democratic governments created the atmosphere of capitulation that made Munich possible. And its blackmail will again place the democracies in gravest peril as soon as Hitler chooses to launch a serious offensive for a negotiated peace.

The cynicism of the men of the right is a continuous challenge to the good memory and the common sense of the people. One heard them, for instance, blaming the Soviet Union in bitter terms for having signed with Hitler in 1939. Yet the only persons who had the moral right to resent and condemn that pact were those who had previously opposed the policy of appeasement toward the greatest gangster of Europe. The same elements which in 1939 blamed the Soviet Union for signing with Hitler now attack those who, in the general interest of the democracies, favor support for a Russia which is fighting Hitler.

The blackmail of the right has operated until now chiefly in two ways—by accusing those who wanted to resist Hitler of being blood-thirsty warmongers, and by keeping alive the myth of the invincibility of the Nazi armies. One must acknowledge that a belief in Hitler's invincibility has spread through even the most liberal sectors of world opinion. At the end of June, 1940, nine out of ten persons believed that England would be invaded at any minute and that the war would be over by September. Only eight days ago hardly anybody believed that Russia could hold out more than two months against the formidable assault of the German motorized divisions. For us Spaniards this way of arguing seems incomprehensible. The first thing we try to find out is whether there exists an authentic will to resist. In Russia as in England the existence of this will seems indisputable. Once it is verified we allow ourselves to be no more impressed by the myth of invincibility than by the prognostications of the military experts.

Had the French and British experts, including the military attachés in Madrid, been correct in their estimates, the Spanish war would have lasted scarcely three months instead of three years. When the war in China began, the Japanese general staff publicly announced that Chinese resistance would continue exactly two months. But on Monday the war in China was four years old.

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Of course the Japanese expected an internal revolt against Chiang Kai-shek, just as in Berlin now there is probably much speculation about the coming disintegration of the internal Russian front. In China, instead of revolt, there was an upsurge of national unity, and if one can judge by the repercussions of Stalin's speech, something similar is taking place in Russia.

Since the outbreak of the German-Russian war the right has been using a third kind of blackmail, with greater fury and a greater chance of success than ever before. Though it was not only the Prime Minister of Great Britain but the leader of the Conservative Party who, on the day of Hitler's attack upon Russia, discussed with such genius and intuition the true issues involved, his intelligent words and noble recommendations failed to impress the appeasers of the right, who promptly jumped in to divide and demoralize the democratic forces and to exploit to the last drop the tangled implications of the new front in the East. With great acuteness the men who are working for Hitler detected at once that certain liberals, although entirely convinced that Russia should be helped immediately in accordance with the realistic conceptions of Mr. Churchill, were extremely fearful of being classed again as Muscovites—a term applied before 1939 to all who welcomed Russia's policy of supporting collective security and resisting Hitler.

As long as honest liberals allow people who consciously or unconsciously want a Nazi victory to decide anti-fascist policy, as long as they continue to be afraid of their own fighting spirit and of being denounced as warmongers and reds, the blackmail of the right will have immense influence. And the success of that blackmail will offer Hitler one of his greatest chances to win this war. Let us remember that it was a conservative, "imperialistic" Churchill who, by proclaiming in his memorable speech of June 22 that "all who fight against Hitler are our allies," showed to the hesitating democratic leaders that only a policy of combined military and political action, utilizing all the anti-fascist forces, could lead to final victory.

Heat Haze in Washington

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 5

I CAME back from vacation expecting to find those in favor of an all-out effort in a cheerful frame of mind. From a distance, the new OPM rule that trade-association executives could not serve as dollar-a-year men seemed a move in the right direction. The resignations of Walter S. Tower, Gano Dunn, and C. W. Kellogg appeared the portents of a shake-up in defense that might put an end to business as usual. I thought I would encounter a new vigor and a new enthusiasm in my rounds through the alphabetical labyrinths of OPM, OEM, and OPACS. I found instead that Washington was in the doldrums, its morale at low ebb. The summers here are fierce, but, if I may be forgiven for saying so, at the OPM it's not the heat, it's the cupidity.

One of the principal reasons for the letdown is that war preparations are beginning to pinch business rather than stimulate it. Congressmen are hearing from little business men hurt by priorities and wage increases but unable to obtain a share of defense orders. The big business men who have been running the OPM like a cartel and monopolizing these orders now scent sacrifices in the offing; never the most fervent of anti-fascists, they regard the prospect of a curtailed boom in automobile production with a horror they have not always felt for Hitler.

These trends were evident before Hitler dropped a bomb on the umbrella over the Kremlin; they have been intensified by the Nazi attack on the Soviets. The Providence that split the ranks of the godless embarrassed the faithful. The shock of waking to find that one had 180,000,000 new allies, citizens of a state in which private enterprise is seditious and religious belief heresy, has sapped the Administration's vitality. Carter Glass has been for all-out aid to Britain, let the deficits swell as they may. But when reporters asked the Senator about aid to Russia, he asked, "Where's the money coming from?" More serious than ideological qualms is a widespread feeling that until the Russians are defeated we have a breathing-spell in our own defense preparations. Too many of the big business men at the OPM want to use the breathing-spell for a nap.

I am convinced that neither the reluctance of business to make sacrifices nor Hitler's effort to resell the gold brick of a crusade against communism would be serious were the President prepared to deliver fewer generalizations about democracy and exercise more leadership. On February 7 last, Administration forces in the House easily defeated the Tinkham amendment to forbid aid to Russia under the Lease-Lend bill; the leading part played in the fight against the amendment by so hard-headed a right-winger as Luther Johnson of Texas indicates a reserve of sturdy realism in dealing with Hitler hobgoblins. There are enough business men and conservatives here awake to the emergency to give Mr.

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Roosevelt a good measure of support on the right if he decides to end business as usual. Unfortunately, the President continues to sidle up to the war issue, to approach it obliquely and by subterfuge, and he gives no indication of a readiness for drastic measures in speeding up production.

Mr. Roosevelt's hesitations encourage the worst and dishearten the best forces in his Administration. The State Department is still permitted to appease Vichy with oil while it dawdles over the release of machine tools to the Soviets. The diehards of industry are being allowed to obtain a stronger grip than ever on the machinery of defense behind the smoke screen of the Dunn-Kellogg-Towers resignations. The head of the Iron and Steel Institute is removed as a consultant on steel, but the chairman of the United States Steel Corporation remains at the controls of the OPM. Trade-association executives may no longer serve as dollar-a-year men, but industry committees which duplicate the trade associations are given a prominent role in the reorganization of defense. True, industry committees will have advisory capacity only, but the men they "advise" will be men of the Stettinius-Biggers stripe. In the new commodity sections the industry committee will sit on one side of the table, and on the other will be representatives of the production, priorities, and purchasing divisions of the OPM—most of them dollar-a-year men drawn from the same industries. The decision will be made by the chairmen, and the chairmen will be dollar-a-year men, too. The same result could be arrived at with one dollar-a-year man in a hall of mirrors.

It is significant that it has not yet been decided whether to have a representative of Leon Henderson's price administration in each commodity section, and the OPM'ers are still trying to determine the most innocuous way to give labor representation. The original plan was to leave labor out altogether, but word that Sidney Hillman's division was campaigning for labor committees paralleling the industry committees seems to have changed OPM plans. The latest news this morning was that there would be an adviser from the labor division in each commodity section.

The conferences held this week on curtailment of automobile production again illustrated the need for joint labor-management defense councils, as asked by Philip Murray. There is little indication that Knudsen has the courage to impose another cut on automobile production, and less that he will force diversion of automobile facilities to other defense purposes. The ghost of the Reuther plan rises to haunt the OPM as apologists explain that a further reduction in the manufacture of automobiles would cause unemployment. There would be no unemployment if the machine tools of the automobile industry were diverted, as they can be, to quantity production of parts for planes, tanks, gun carriages, and other armament. The automobile industry is the greatest single untapped reservoir of productive capacity for defense, but it will remain untouched as long as a General Motors executive is in control of the defense machinery. Automobile production *will* be cut, but planlessly and at the last moment, and there will be unemployment and with it a further reduction in morale.

The Thousand-Year Plan

BY PETER F. DRUCKER

WHEN the Nazi leaders discuss their plans for the benefit of foreigners, especially Americans, they utter honeyed words about "cooperation" and "division of labor" in a free, prosperous, and peaceful Europe. Actually, seeking to implement Hitler's promise of a regime lasting a thousand years, the Nazis are planning economic measures to hold down the Continent in perpetuity. They plan a self-sufficient Europe, independent of raw-material sources overseas, particularly in the United States and Latin America. They plan to move millions of people, to build large industries where none ever existed before, and to destroy industrial life where it has flourished for centuries.

Since the war began two years ago, German economists, soldiers, politicians, and engineers have been working on the economic blueprints for Nazi Europe. Today these plans are completed, and many of them are already being translated into fact. Expulsion of the French inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine may seem just another chapter in the age-old fight over these border provinces. Yet similar large-scale expulsions have been going on in Holland, Poland, Czechoslovakia. The deported natives are being replaced by Germans. Altogether perhaps nine million people have already been forcibly moved; another ten million are still to be driven out of their homes under this plan, which is Hitler's contribution to "permanent peace" in Europe.

This is not just nationalist fanaticism. The main purpose is to "Germanize" the European steel and chemical industries. Almost all the heavy industry of Europe is concentrated in two narrow belts, one along the Rhine, the other beside the chain of mountains separating Bo-

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hemia from Germany. The first of these areas takes in not only the tremendous heavy industries of the Ruhr Valley and the chemical works of Frankfort and Mannheim but the coal and iron mines and steel works of Lorraine, the highly efficient steel industry of Luxembourg, Belgium's metal-working industries, and the comparatively small but very up-to-date Dutch steel mills. The eastern sector comprises the great Czech armament plants at Pilsen and Vitkovice, the steel, coal, zinc, and lead industries of Upper Silesia, the great industrial prize of the Polish conquest, and the huge chemical plants of Leipzig, where synthetic gasoline is made for the Luftwaffe. Before the war, about half the area of these two industrial belts was within the German borders; now Hitler proposes to make all of them part of Germany—not only politically but racially as well. No one knows better than the Nazi rulers that modern wars are won at the assembly line in the factories behind the front. Consequently, only Germans will own and operate the basic industries.

Germany will have a monopoly of the production of airplanes, tanks, and mechanized equipment. The German engineers who arrived in France with the first army units carried complete inventories of French aircraft-plant equipment, all of which was promptly shipped to Germany. The Paris automobile works of Citroen, producer of one of Europe's most popular small cars, are being transferred to Metz in German-annexed Lorraine. In regions where a non-German population cannot be replaced by Germans, the blueprint calls for the destruction of heavy industrial plants. The French and Dutch chemical industry, unless it is in the same district as the steel industry, is to be scrapped. So is the Belgian automobile industry, the famous old shipyards of Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Brest, and the Dutch electrical and machinery industry. The very reliable Swiss *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* recently reported that much of the machinery of the great Phillipps electrical works, which used to produce some of the finest electrical appliances in the world, had been shipped from Holland to Germany.

Germany is to be the only country on the Continent manufacturing steel, engines, or automobiles, owning chemical plants, or operating research laboratories. The *Schwarze Korps,* the organ of Hitler's Guard, has said, "We don't want even the tradition of heavy industry, of mechanical engineering, or of chemical research to survive outside Germany."

To supplement these monopolies, Germany will keep exclusive control of Europe's credit. A few weeks ago, tucked away on a back page of the New York *Times,* there appeared an official report that the Nazi government had given a new company a monopoly on all reinsurance business on the Continent. The few who saw this item probably dismissed it as of interest only to insurance people—which is precisely what the Germans wanted. Yet this is fully as important news as the Nazi conquest of yet another small country would be.

It has been the practice of European life-insurance companies for many years to reinsure about 50 per cent of their risks with a reinsurance company, which takes, of course, 50 per cent of the premiums and accumulates 50 per cent of the capital reserves. Before this war the reinsurance business on the Continent was equitably distributed among English, French, German, Italian, Swiss, Dutch, and Swedish companies; it had remained a truly international business, free from political fetters, even after Hitler's rise to power. Now by establishing a monopoly of reinsurance the Nazis have at one stroke got hold of a quarter to a third of the savings of all Europe's masses, which they can invest in German government bonds and use for German political purposes. This will make it almost impossible for conquered countries to shake off the German yoke without hurting thousands of their own small investors. So an ancient and beneficial institution becomes an instrument of permanent Nazi oppression.

Hitler's own *Völkischer Beobachter* recently published a plan to obtain a similar control of all savings by a measure as effective, and at the same time as obscure to the man in the street, as the reinsurance monopoly. According to this plan all commercial and savings banks on the Continent will be required to keep from 30 to 40 per cent of their deposits with an "international" central bank to be established in Berlin. The ostensible purpose of this institution will be the protection of depositors against bank failures. Actually, it will give the Germans direct control over bank deposits and enable them to invest these funds in any way they choose.

Even these controls are not sufficient: the Nazi planners do not regard German rule as safe so long as Europe is dependent on foodstuffs and raw materials from overseas. Unless Continental Europe becomes self-sufficient, any enemy of Nazism in command of the seas can threaten Germany's empire. Hitler, inland born and a stranger to the sea, does not put his trust in a German bid for sea power as did the Kaiser. Instead, the Continent must be reorganized so as to feed itself and obtain its raw materials from territories which can be defended by land and air. This is the most ambitious and revolutionary of all the Nazi designs, far exceeding anything Napoleon ever dreamed of.

Eastern Europe even today yields almost all the wheat, oil, and copper needed by the German war machine. It is also scheduled to become Europe's main producer of cheap industrial goods for mass consumption. Almost a hundred million people live in what used to be Poland, Slovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. About eighty-five of these hundred millions are engaged

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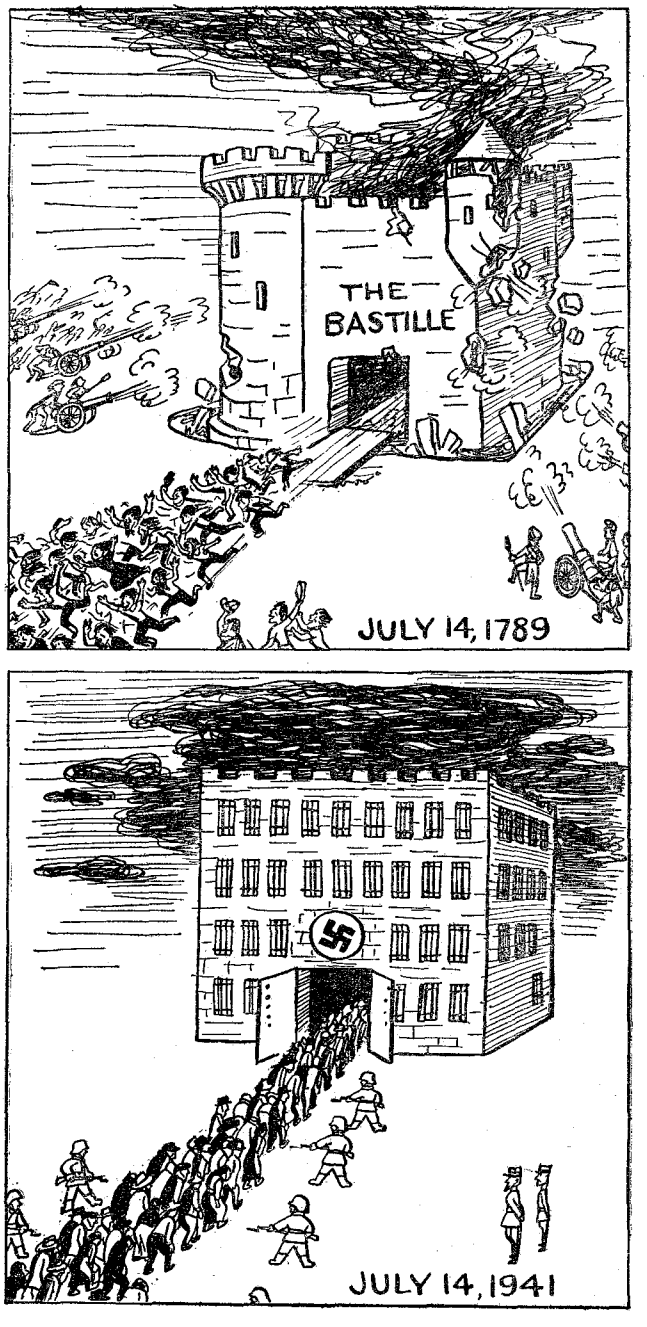
in agriculture. They have not enough land, and much of the soil is poor. Almost half of the population should either migrate or find employment in industry. The Balkan peasant is accustomed to long hours, a rigid working discipline, and a standard of living not much higher than that of the Chinese coolie. He is also one of the most intelligent workers in the world. The Nazi plan—according to Göring's paper, the *Essener National Zeitung*—is to use these peasants as labor to turn out cheap textiles, shoes, glass, china, hardware, and furniture for most of the 350,000,000 people in Continental Europe. The plants would operate on the assembly-line principle with the most modern German machines, but the labor would live in company dormitories, work twelve hours or more without unions or collective bargaining, and actually be forbidden to leave their jobs. This is not very different from the scheme Japan put into effect ten years ago, when cheap and shoddy Japanese goods suddenly began to flood the markets of the world.

The Nazis have told Danish makers of pottery and glass that when the war is over their business will be moved to Czechoslovakia, where the pottery and glassware for all Europe will be manufactured. Danish textile manufacturers have been told that they will be moved to Poland, because all textiles will be manufactured in Eastern Europe. According to an official German report, a large part of the textile machinery in northern France and southern Belgium has already been shipped to new plants in Slovakia and Hungary. We are not told how much of this industry, which traces its ancestry back to the twelfth century, has been transferred. But reports from Hungary indicate that the machines which have arrived there are the most modern and efficient ones.

While Balkan peasants go into the factory, the skilled factory workers of Western Europe will go back to the land. Before the war Western Europe consisted of two large agricultural areas, with the industrial districts of southern Holland, Belgium, and northern France sandwiched in between. These countries had a healthy balance between industry and agriculture, which the Nazis intend to change by "liquidating" all the important industries. The main motive behind this scheme is of course political. As one German officer put it, "By removing industries from France we will remove for all time any possibility of an attack against Germany." But the plan to convert France, Belgium, and Holland into agricultural countries has also an economic purpose. The great weakness of European agriculture is the shortage of fodder crops. For reasons of soil and climate the western coastal plains are the one part of Europe where additional fodder crops could be raised in quantity. To them, therefore, is assigned the task of producing Europe's fodder requirements—much of which the various nations used to buy from Latin America and the United States. The Germans argue that the whole population of Western Europe, 60,000,000 people, will be needed for such intensive agriculture, so that there will be no labor available for industry. Under such a system, of course, the standard of living would be greatly lowered. But from the Nazi point of view that is no obstacle.

Cotton production in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, under German guidance and with German capital, is well past the experimental stage. And the Germans have sent some of their best specialists into Algeria to try out cotton and tobacco production there. Even if only actually known resources are taken into account, the Mediterranean region could be made to supply almost all the important raw materials that are not found in the temperate zone and that cannot as yet be replaced by synthetic substitutes.



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From the point of view of economic technique, a water-tight and self-sufficient European economy is entirely possible. It would mean of course for most non-German Europeans a much lower standard of living than they had previously enjoyed, for the economic upheaval necessary to realize the Nazi plan would play havoc with the efficiency of economic production. But with modern methods of mass production and a ruthless disregard for human sacrifice the Nazis could achieve a regimented European economy fairly quickly. Neither Hitler nor Stalin, from whom Hitler has borrowed many of the ideas of his *Pax Germanica,* has ever placed much value on human life.

Yet before he could even begin, Hitler would have to control the Near East, Suez, and Gibraltar. He and his 70,000,000 Germans would have to police a continent stretching from the Persian Gulf to Normandy and containing 350,000,000 non-Germans—all of them forced down to the level of unskilled workers and all ready to revolt. Now he has taken on Russia, presumably both to remove it as a permament military threat and with the intention of incorporating at least part of its territory in his system. Victory will bring him, theoretically, the riches of the Ukraine and the Caucausus. But before these riches can be utilized, economic and technical problems of tremendous magnitude must be solved. And his soldiers will have to protect still greater areas; his Gestapo hold down still more millions.

Would it be possible for Hitler to reorganize the Continent with an unbeaten and fighting England at his back? Would the Nazis be willing to confine themselves to domination of Europe and European Russia or would they strive for world-domination? Would a defeated England be de-industrialized like defeated France, or would Hitler try to keep the British Empire together, as he has often proclaimed? To try to answer these questions by arguing from the Nazi blueprints is to show a complete misunderstanding of Nazi strategy and mentality. Hitler has found a powerful weapon in the fact that he never commits himself to any definite policy, and therefore is always free to do the opposite of what is expected of him. All he demands of the blueprints is that they lay the foundation for whatever his decision may turn out to be.

It may be argued that his decision to make the Continent self-supporting is an admission of defeat at the hands of British naval power, but it might equally well be a sign that Hitler thinks he has defeated Great Britain already. It may be argued that the "isolated continent" of the Nazi plan means surrender of all ideas for world conquest; it might just as well be said that fulfilment of this plan will give Hitler the economic basis for an offensive against any part of the world. But the Nazi blueprints show us one thing clearly and unmistakably—that in the event of a Nazi victory neither this country nor Latin America can expect to do a dollar's worth of "business as usual" with the continent of Europe.

Customs Union Now

BY F. EUGENE MELDER and RICHARD ELTON

AMERICANS support Britain and its allies because they feel that a British victory would at least leave open the possibility that a decent world order might emerge after the war, whereas a Nazi triumph would remove all hope and turn the United States into an armed camp. But with their memories of Versailles and the years after the last war, many Americans are asking for some clear-cut demonstration that this country and Great Britain sincerely desire a really new era. The action taken need not be anything so breath-taking as "Union Now," but it should provide a rational basis for the economic and political reorganization that must come with peace. It lies within the power of the United States and Great Britain to give the required demonstration of their purpose by the formation of a customs union.

A customs union is "an association of two or more independent tariff territories to form one customs area, involving the elimination of all interterritorial customs barriers and the adoption of a common tariff policy." Since our Constitution forbids interstate tariffs and provides for a common tariff policy, the United States is, in effect, a customs union, and this fact has contributed greatly to the growth of American production and the development of national unity. The German Zollverein, formed early in the nineteenth century, was a customs union which served as the cornerstone of the German Empire. The creation of the political Union of South Africa in 1909 was preceded by the formation of a customs union. In Canada in 1867 and in Australia in 1901 political federation went hand in hand with the economic unification of states and provinces through the abolition of trade barriers. In 1931 Germany and Austria wanted a customs union as a means of improving their economic condition. Had the French allowed them to form one, it might have paved the way for a peace-

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ful solution of the problem of disunity in Central Europe.

An Anglo-American customs union would be a turning-point in world history. Capitalizing upon the already existing economic and cultural interdependence of the world's richest nations, it would point the way to the peaceful cooperation for mutual benefit of less well-endowed states. To formulate a common tariff policy an Anglo-American commission could be set up. Great Britain would act for its colonies and other dependencies, but the dominions would have to enter upon separate understandings with the United States. The dominions would give up their imperial-preference status and assume positions of equality within the customs union. China, the refugee governments of occupied Europe, and South American countries might also be invited to join, and in the future other countries could be considered. Thus in war time national states would begin to yield some of their sovereign powers.

War-time surrender of sovereignty has many precedents. In 1918, when Marshal Foch was given supreme command of the Allied forces, American sovereignty was curtailed to further the common Allied aim of military defeat of Germany. In peace time treaty-making requires the relinquishment of a degree of sovereignty; without the international treaties by which nation-states limit their aspirations, there would be little international political order. A customs union would merely extend this relinquishment of sovereignty into the field of trade barriers. At the same time it would be a long step toward full federal union. Some peace-time abridgments of national sovereignty representing degrees of federalism are already in operation, as, for example, the International Postal Union, various agreements for the sharing of rights on rivers which form international boundaries, and the international allotment of radio frequencies. Other steps that may follow when time and circumstances are favorable include the establishment of a monetary policy based on common interests and the surrender of national military and naval establishments in favor of a common international defense force.

Anglo-American trade relations, fortunately, are such that one does not have to be a starry-eyed idealist to foresee the possibility of effecting a customs union. Because of war conditions, about two-thirds of American exports now go to the British Empire. But even before the war the Empire was by all odds our best customer. The United Kingdom and Canada took almost exactly 35 per cent of our exports during the period from 1926 to 1930, inclusive. In 1937 the United Kingdom alone absorbed $535,000,000 of American exports, about the total of our sales to France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden combined. Forty-seven million Britons regularly spend about $200,000,000 more on our goods than do the inhabitants of South America. We usually sell more than 40 per cent of our exports to British nations—the United Kingdom, the dominions, and the colonies.

The United Kingdom is a large importer of American farm products, especially pork products, raw cotton, and tobacco. In peace time it also takes large amounts of American manufactured and processed goods, such as electrical apparatus, industrial and office machinery, automobiles, chemical products, gasoline, and other petroleum products. From Britain we obtain large quantities of whiskey, fine linens and woolens, tin, books, and art objects. From the dominions and colonies we get tea, tin, rubber, nickel, gold, wool, and newsprint in large quantities. All these commodities are of great importance to the American economy. Although both the United States and Britain are leading producers of steel, metal products, and textiles, the apparent competition is more illusory than real. Britain is an export market for American machinery and iron and steel scrap, while the United States imports British cutlery, tin plate, and ferro-alloys. The British buy our cotton and sell us fine fabrics. We also take from them semi-manufactures of flax, carpet wool, and cotton yarns. Hollywood films enjoy a good export market in British territory, and at the same time America consumes British movies with considerable pleasure. Competition between the countries is in general less serious than is popularly supposed.

The United States and the United Kingdom stand high among the trading nations of the world. Their combined trade, with that of their possessions, amounts to approximately 40 per cent of the world's foreign trade. It is perhaps not generally known that mature industrial nations trade with one another much more than with under-industrialized states. Before the present war our leading markets and sources of goods, after the United Kingdom and Canada, were the industrialized countries of Japan, France, and Germany; our trade with agricultural and raw-material states was of secondary importance. The common notion that the undeveloped areas of the world furnish the greatest markets is erroneous; industrial nations have the products and the purchasing power with which to do business together.

A look toward the future shows very clearly the mutual advantages to be gained by a customs union now. As "all-out" American economic aid to Britain gets into full swing, Britain will find it increasingly difficult, under our present tariff policies, to pay for the goods. Had the Lend-Lease law not been enacted, Britain might have lost the war because of its lack of foreign exchange. As it is, unless the American taxpayer is to stand more and more of the cost of the aid Britain receives, we must revise our tariffs downward. A customs union would

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have the immediate effect of making it easier for Britain and its allies to sell to the United States, and thus enable them to pay for more of the aid received.

To minimize the danger of post-war depression and revolution an Anglo-American customs union would be of inestimable value. With such a union in effect, other European states, after a British victory, could enter the trade alliance and begin hopefully the task of post-war reconstruction. Depression in America would then be short-lived. Nazi conquest has meant the systematic removal or consumption of the capital of the small nations. After the war the United States will be the natural source of the savings which will produce the capital goods to alleviate this shortage. Investment abroad, stimulated by the existence of the customs union, would increase greatly the demand for the products of our heavy industries, which are the ones that will suffer most from the dislocation occasioned by the cessation of demand for armaments. A program to facilitate international investment, aided and abetted by the safeguards of a customs union, would lay a much broader and sounder basis for post-war prosperity than would any domestic program of "made work."

The doubting Thomas may point to the unhappy plight of Americans who invested abroad in the twenties as a horrible example of what may be expected of another capital-export program. It must be emphasized, therefore, that investments abroad after the last war met a calamitous end because they were not linked to an appropriate tariff policy. Our high tariff was a death sentence to the successful participation of American capital in the economic reconstruction of the world. A customs union on a sufficiently broad base would prevent the repetition of such an episode.

If the world is to return to peace and prosperity the growth of economic interdependence must be promoted. Economic nationalism and high living standards are incompatible. Just as the American standard of living has been beneficially affected by the relative absence of trade barriers between our states, so the standard of living of all nations would be favorably influenced by the lowering of the customs barriers between them. The advocates of Federal Union are right in their contention that world peace ultimately rests upon a sacrifice of national sovereignty all around. And the chief hope of promoting Federal Union lies in uniting the world more closely by ties of trade. The Nazi idea that trade is a weapon of conquest will prevail unless the democracies can show in the immediate future that the links of trade can hold great nations together in peace. If the great nations were as dependent upon each other economically as the American states are, the danger of war would be remote, for war, under such circumstances, would be immediately and utterly dislocating to the world's economic life.

In the Wind

THE 1942 CAMPAIGN for the Minnesota seat in the United States Senate now held by Joseph Ball will be fought out between Governor Harold E. Stassen and Charles A. Lindbergh, according to well-informed Midwestern observers. Although Lindbergh has given no hint of political ambitions, some of his closest advisers and followers are already building a Minnesota organization for him. Senator Ball, a member of the Stassen Republican machine, will yield to the Governor, who is eager to find a place in national politics. Since Stassen is a Willkie interventionist, Lindbergh can use his America First connections to win disgruntled Republicans and his father's Farmer-Labor isolationism to win the progressives.

THE PROJECTED MARCH on Washington to secure fair play for Negroes in defense industries and in the army was halted largely by the intervention of Mrs. Roosevelt. The President himself had tried to dissuade the leader of the movement, A. Philip Randolph, by sending his anti-discrimination memorandum to the OPM on June 15, but Randolph and Walter White of the N. A. A. C. P. felt that the statement left much unsaid. Then Mrs. Roosevelt went to New York, and she and Mayor LaGuardia won over the Negro leaders in a private meeting. The fruit of that conference was the executive order to the OPM issued on June 26.

WALT DISNEY, the March of Time, and the Nelson Rockefeller Committee may jointly produce national-defense films for consumption here and in South America.

IN AN EFFORT to break the isolationist *Tribune's* monopoly as a morning paper in Chicago, Marshall Field, owner of *PM,* will publish a new daily in that city, starting sometime in September.

THE F. W. Woolworth Company is selling packets of stationery decorated with the official seal of the United States and the slogan "America First."

THE EDITORS of Scribner's *Commentator* have moved their journal to Geneva, Wisconsin, in order, they explain, to get away from "refugee-dominated New York."

IN BROADCASTS to the conquered countries the British are urging anti-fascists to make Beethoven's Fifth Symphony a theme song in the war of nerves against the Nazis. This is part of the campaign to use the letter, or Roman numeral, "V" as the symbol of anti-Nazism, to be chalked or penciled or shouted in public places throughout the Continent. The British Broadcasting Company points out that the opening bar of the Fifth Symphony, three short notes followed by a long one, is the equivalent of the Morse signal for the letter "V"—three dots and a dash.

[*The $5 prize for the best item received in June goes to E. W. of Provincetown, Massachusetts, for the story about the FBI published on June 14.*]

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Crime and Crowding

SINCE they found the raped and murdered body of a young woman who had come from the Middle West to work in the expanding War Department in the present bulging Washington, the capital city of the United States has been, to use its own word, "terrorized" by crimes. There have been more attacks on women, hold-ups, assaults. Now the Washington *Post* reports a danger that imagination may run ahead of crime. The shocked indignation which stirred the police out of lethargy in inadequacy may create, the *Post* fears, a danger even of riots, which might involve the most innocent people. The danger may be there, certainly, but it might be worth facing if it would dramatize at last effectively the conditions in the old festering, crime-breeding slums behind the new wide avenues with their beautiful buildings—conditions which in recent years have made Washington almost symbolic of an America of extremes.

There is nothing new about the slums. There is nothing secret about them. One of the most disturbing photographs of this America—it was taken by the Farm Security Administration and used recently in a publication of the United States Forest Service—presents the dome of the Capitol of the United States just over the rim of an adjacent slum. The Defense Housing Coordinator himself has taken movies of these slums. They are not concentrated in any one place. On a map they look, as Mrs. Helen Dewey Hoffman, executive director of the Washington Housing Association says, like measles. But as Mrs. Hoffman says also, their effect is like cancer.

And into a city of old slums new people are being pulled by defense. Since the census of April, 1940, which found 663,091 people, careful estimators think the city has grown to between 715,000 and 750,000 people. There are a lot more new people than new houses. And that means a lot more people in the old houses. It means, housing authorities say, that slums are not only in alleys now but also along old-time elegant streets like New Hampshire and Massachusetts avenues, where girls are lucky to rent a bed in a room full of strangers.

"Occupation by three to six unrelated roomers of the parlor of a once fine private residence is not uncommon," Mrs. Hoffman said not long ago.

More than 80 per cent of the federal workers get under $2,000 a year; most of them get under $1,500. Down below them, among the poorer people, white and Negro, who have joined in hope the movement to the growing capital, the situation is sadder still. The rents have gone up most steeply in the worst houses. Some of the poorest people, who have come to the place where the billions are being spent, live in a different house every month because they cannot afford to pay the rent out of what they earn. School authorities report children who have been in a different school every month.

A member of the Tolan committee of Congress, which has been investigating the movements of people around all the defense towns, asked Mrs. Hoffman about the children.

"Do many of them live in trailers?"

"No, they do not. They live in basements. Dr. Evans, principal of the Thompson School, told me that 35 per cent of his children live in the basements of those houses in the central area. There will be a mother and a father and from two to five children living in one room."

Worse, even, than conditions for the poorer whites are those for Negroes, who are associated chiefly with the crime wave. Down near the Union Station, which sits at one end of a plaza stretching to the Capitol, are four rows of very similar dwellings, all substandard, the Tolan committee learned. One row is occupied by foreign-born whites who pay $12 to $15.50 for a four-room house. The Negroes in the other rows pay $35 for the same accommodations.

The crime in the District of Columbia did not begin when they found the body of that poor little murdered woman who had come to do stenography for defense. It has been there a long time, and for a long time also it has been disregarded. Yet not altogether disregarded. For years in Washington energetic and earnest people have been concerned about the alleys behind the avenues, about the still horrible houses for the poor close to the vaster and vaster, richer and richer office buildings. Some new housing has gone up, but also in recent years the opulent expanse of new government grass about templed government office buildings has torn houses down. The people are coming now faster and faster, and many of them are coming to live in filth. People still use privies in the city of the President.

Washington is the most beautiful city in the richest land in the world. But there is crime in it even when nobody is excited about a crime wave. And not all the criminals are running from the police.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

ERSKINE CALDWELL and Margaret Bourke-White present selected findings of a ten-thousand-mile trip through the United States in another of their collaborations of camera and typewriter, "Say, Is This the U. S. A." (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $3.75). It contains 86 fine photographs and a 30,000-word text which is sensitive to the tones and overtones of the American scene and amusing as well. The collaborators claim to have had a "background plan," but it scarcely emerges. The ground covered was too vast, and it is difficult to bring the varieties of life in this "standardized" country into a single focus. The book yields rather the sense of roving at random, which is pleasant enough in itself. Miss Bourke-White contributes a note on the photography, including a detailed description of the cameras used which fans will find interesting.

"THE FORGOTTEN VILLAGE" (Viking, $2.50), another picture book, concentrates on one remote pueblo in Mexico. It consists of 136 stills from a motion picture made by Herbert Kline and Alexander Hackensmid with a script by John Steinbeck. A Mexican boy, Juan Diego, is the central character. The story tells of an epidemic that strikes the village and of the struggle between old magic and new medicine for the minds and bodies of the villagers. It is a dramatic narrative in pictures with the natives as actors. In the end the doctors are driven out by the villagers under the sway of the Wise Woman and her spells. Juan himself is turned away from his father's house for going over to the "poisoners," who have put white powder in the well and tried to inject horses' blood into the children, and is taken to Mexico City by his new friends to go to school and learn how to help his people. Mr. Kline has caught the feeling of Mexico, with its thick undergrowth of ignorance and superstition and its thin layer of modernity. He has even managed to convey, as few photographers of Mexico do or care to do, the squalor and dirt. As a result the reality comes through—and the reality of Mexico is far more moving than any soap-and-water interpretation. The writing is typical Steinbeck—eloquent and sentimental but suited to the subject.

I HAVE NEVER READ the novels of G. B. Stern, but the second volume of her memoirs, "Another Part of the Forest" (Macmillan, $3), reveals the qualities that have given her books their steady popularity. Here is deft, flexible, civilized writing about people and places, dogs and canes and toy horses. The book has the warmth and charm of a gracious house stocked with comforts, including books you've always meant to read, lovely landscapes, wines expertly chosen, and the conversation of talented and witty guests who drop in at all hours. No hint of a mad recluse in the upstairs bedroom; no gusts of loneliness from the study of a genius in travail; an impersonal book for all its personalities. It conveys mainly a pleasant sense of security taken for granted in a delightful way of life. It might easily have become smug; it doesn't, first because of the author's humor, good sense, and understanding, second because that way of life is being heavily attacked at this moment. G. B. Stern's real house, with all its intimate treasures, was totally destroyed by an incendiary bomb as she was nearing the end of her book; and this fact throws a lurid endearing light on her picture of English life in her particular part of the forest.

To set beside G. B. Stern's volume: "This Realm, This England" (Hastings House, $3.75), in which Samuel Chamberlain has gathered together 141 etchings, a small assortment of drawings, wood engravings, and lithographs, and 68 photographs of "This precious stone set in the silver sea, Which serves it in the office of a wall." The collection includes the work of the famous graphic artists of the past as well as the present. Turner, Whistler, Bone, Pennell, and many others are lavishly represented.

THE CAXTON PRINTERS of Caldwell, Idaho, issue many volumes each year dealing with the history and lore of the Northwest. They are doing a conscientious and valuable job of preserving the records of the last frontier. I was interested in "Cowboy Dances" by Lloyd Shaw ($3.50) because they were news to me, though my young summers were spent in cattle country and I learned to dance—both square and round—at the Saturday night jamborees in the barnlike dance-hall or the Mormon meeting-house at Malta, Idaho. Mr. Shaw notes that a piano and a fiddle are regulation. Sometimes our piano was the church organ; the fiddler was the local veterinarian, and he was often detained by a patient at the other end of the valley. But nobody minded, least of all the babies, who were laid on the stage in serried ranks right up to the lively feet of the fiddler and slept peacefully through it all. Cowboy dances are modified, often simplified, forms of older dances. In many cases the names have changed in the cross-country trek and the calls reflect the frontier locale.

> Rope your cow and brand your calf
> Swing your honey an hour and a half

Mr. Shaw's 372-page book is designed for use. He gives minute directions and complete calls for seventy-five dances, with photographs and diagrams. I shall send my copy to a school I know where old-time dances are the rage among the younger progressive set.

"Ring-Tailed Roarers" ($3.50) contains a very good selection of tall tales admirably presented and edited by V. L. O. Chittick. There are notes on authors and sources and a selected list for further reading. It includes "Davy Crockett" and a special mention of "American Humor" by Constance Rourke, whose name, in footnote or bibliography, has become a kind of hallmark for books in this field.

A FEW OTHER BOOKS should be noted in this miscellany. E. M. Delafield's "No One Now Shall Know" (Harper and Brothers, $2.50) is a novel by another of that rather

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impressive group of English women who are both prolific and expert, though not first-rate. In "No One Now Shall Know," Miss Delafield manages to incorporate the elements of the penny-shocker in sophisticated and finished prose. Not important but a pleasant evening's entertainment. . . . Speaking of English women writers and an evening's entertainment, you can buy now for twenty-five cents (Penguin Books) Stella Gibbons's "Cold Comfort Farm" a satire of agricultural novels and of novels in general. It has everything—including the mad recluse in the upstairs room whose madness is very methodical, the child of nature, and bumpkins named Seth and Reuben. Full of plot and point and very amusing. . . . Everyman's Library has reprinted "The Diary of a Nobody" by George and Weedon Grossmith ($.90). It retails the daily doings of the Pooter family in a Victorian suburb and originally appeared in *Punch*. The jacket carries high praise of the book as a "gem" and a "comic classic." It seems to me somewhat less than either—burlesque, too often labored, rather than satire. The same library has issued at the same price Anatole France's "At the Sign of the Reine Pédauque" and "The Revolt of the Angels" in one volume. It needs no bush.

MARGARET MARSHALL

The Abstract Bicycle

THE NEW CRITICISM. By John Crowe Ransom. New Directions. $2.50.

MR. RANSOM is a difficult writer to deal with objectively. His own avowed preferences are for high, philosophic, and complete objectivity in critics; and complete, stern, logical practice in poets. His preferences, however, are continually congealing into prejudice; and he has a special kind of critical insolence which he can turn, in the gentlest possible way, upon any subject. Then, too, in the present volume, he denies a good many of the tenets expressed in "The World's Body" (1938), and has acquired a whole new abstract vocabulary, to boot.

A new snobbery is rapidly attaching itself to abstract expression. To think, and to express oneself in images, is becoming rather vulgar. "Behind every percept lies a concept," and how tiresome and amateur to have percepts at all! In a period when science in every field, from higher physics to psychiatry and pianoforte technique, is coming round to the idea that truth and even "efficiency" lie on the side of wise relaxation rather than in determined "progressive" tension, it is curious to observe how nervously screwed up academic thought, by some time lag, remains. Mr. Ransom's is a very tense book. It is so tied up that no real definition and no cool exposition of "the new criticism" ever come through. Mr. Ransom is so determined to haggle with his material as he goes along that his neatly articulated "objective cognitions," his "structures," and his "textures" dissolve, in the end, into a confused blur. A few round, whole, firmly presented images would help enormously, but Mr. Ransom has passed through the "image" stage to presumably higher and purer air.

It was Mr. Ransom who, in "The World's Body," took down Shakespeare a button or two for being an amateur as opposed to a professional poet, disciplined at a university. Here all the hair-splitting devices of the debating team are used to override I. A. Richards. Richards believes that emotion has something to do with poetry, and that is a heresy. Ransom "suspects that objective cognitions are the life and death of emotional states. . . . Emotions-in-themselves are fictions, and critical theory should not with a straight face have recourse to them. . . . I do not see why the critic needs to do more than talk about objective situations. The feelings will be their strict correlatives, and the pursuit of feelings will be gratuitous." And Ransom, the author in his previous book of essays of the immortal sentence (applied to the Macbeth soliloquy): "I do not know why *dusty death;* it is an odd but winning detail," proceeds to "salvage" some remarks of T. S. Eliot—who, regrettably, does not work upon theory—by shoving them into Six Concepts of Ransom manufacture. Yvor Winters is commended as a master of "structural analysis." But the crown goes to William Empson, whose "Seven Types of Ambiguity" is "the most imaginative account of readings ever printed, and Empson the closest and most resourceful reader that poetry has yet publicly had."

"Textual reading" is a favorite occupation of the "new criticism." Critics of the more scholarly modern sort never approach literature for "its unique power of expressing with every degree of directness absolute differences in men, and the subtle processes by which these differences are achieved." Stephen Potter, whose devastatingly irreverent study of the history and development of "English studies," "The Muse in Chains," should long since have appeared in an American edition, spikes many pretensions of what he calls "Littishness" by remarking that scholars are happy only when dealing with material which is presumably not only dead but written in a dead language. Certainly it is true, as Richards says, that "the capacity to read intelligently seems undoubtedly to have been greater in Coleridge's time than it is today," and there are reasons for this situation. But surely a criticism which bases its claim for precision and modernity on the variorum browsing and "surface creeping" taken over from the great days of the grammarians is neither truly modern nor precise.

Everywhere in "The New Criticism" we find ourselves "slipping," as Richards, who is never afraid of a good image, puts it, "through the treacheries of abstract language." Abstraction reaches a high point in Mr. Ransom's final chapter, entitled "Wanted: An Ontological Criticism," a chapter clearly requiring a kind of "ontological" literature to operate upon. Fortunately, this ontological literature does not exist, and the reviewer leaves this chapter willingly to the fiercest and most highly endowed logicians and system-makers among Mr. Ransom's readers.

After Ransom's structural and textual feats, one goes back, with a certain relief, to Richards. On page 196 of "Coleridge on Imagination" Richards—who is a delightful writer and a supremely clever man—says:

> Our Neo-Classic Age is repeating those feats of its predecessor which we least applaud. It is showing a fascinating versatility in travesty. And the poets of the "Romantic" period provide for it what Shakespeare, Milton, and Donne were to the early eighteenth-century grammarians and emendators—effigies to be shot at because what they represent is no longer understood. So the Chinese student today bicycles gaily and ribaldly round on the Altar of Heaven.

LOUISE BOGAN

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The British Labor Party

BEVIN AND CO.: THE LEADERS OF BRITISH LABOR. By Patricia Strauss. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

AT ALMOST any time within the reviewer's remembrance the rank and file of the British Labor Party have stood to the left of their leaders in Transport House. Or rather, since inner party attitudes have not often crystallized around articulated doctrines, the membership has shown far greater intuitive capacity than the leadership. The rank and file of the political party wanted action in Spain. At one time Transport House forbade parliamentary candidates even to mention Spain in their speeches. Yet the membership has rarely forced an issue upon the leaders, and no important split has ever developed within the party. Here and there Independent Labor Party fractions or near-Communist leaders such as D. N. Pritt have captured a local by better interpreting its sentiment. But disaffiliated locals have usually languished or rejoined the party. When Ramsay MacDonald betrayed the movement in 1931, Shinwell, the stormy petrel of the party, fought him in his own constituency and soundly trounced him, leaving "the great leader" without a seat in Commons. Once, over the Popular Front issue, Transport House expelled a few divisional parties when an absolutely loyal leadership would have legitimately pressed that issue. And the moguls received overwhelming support at the party convention, even though the membership was fully aware of the platform's maneuver in rigging the debate. A little later the punished locals reasserted their membership in the national party, and also preserved their left-wing militancy.

This phenomenon, so puzzling to the outsider and especially to the "class-war" theorist, is in part explained by Mrs. Strauss's book. In one important respect "Bevin and Co." does a better job than any other published account of the party, and that is in describing the party's local life. The peculiar, unequaled democratic atmosphere, the balanced eagerness, the "feel" of the party are all here.

And from the facts presented emerges the explanation of the phenomenon described above. It is the sense of party and of loyalty to it and of the party's connection with masses of ill-formed opinion outside it which gives it its deceptive appearance of pusillanimity. Had Mrs. Strauss possessed as intimate a knowledge of the trade unions as she does of the political side of the combined movement, yet another point would have been made clear. The reviewer was once an executive official of a branch of the National Union of Railwaymen. Out of three thousand members never more than thirty attended branch meetings. The branch leadership and the thirty stood well to the left of center, yet never presumed to commit the three thousand to policies which might have driven one hundred, a thousand, or two thousand out of the union and out of affiliation with the party, which received about nine-tenths of the three thousand votes.

Mrs. Strauss comments accurately upon the use by Transport House of the block union vote against the aggregate of the individual membership, liberals and labor men. Where the trade unions, which necessarily contain political conservatives, are affiliated to a political party, however, such apparently anti-democratic phenomena are inevitable. One uses the word "apparently" advisedly. The problem of the block vote is one of the most serious that can confront a working-class political party. I have never heard anyone even propose a wholly satisfactory solution. The British Labor Party, with which one is in perceptible contact throughout Mrs. Strauss's book, is a mass party. It cannot possess the acrobatic agility —or the readiness to stand upside down—of a tiny clique. It cannot manifest the doctrinal rigidity or the capacity for variable mendacity of a negligible splinter. And, to be fair to a dull and worn-out set of leaders, when one remembers old differences it is well to realize that had the Communists been allowed to enter the party, directly or through the Popular Front, the result in October, 1939, might well have been a catastrophic uproar that for a while might have split the local labor parties as it split those in New York. What Mrs. Strauss leads one to believe, none the less, is that a more radical and physically active leadership would have extended the party's influence. In that she is undoubtedly right.

The greater part of "Bevin and Co." consists of biographical accounts and character estimates of Labor Party leaders. Most of them are first rate, particularly those of Herbert Morrison and Emanuel Shinwell. Morrison, one feels, reflects the mentality and the psychological capacity of the party membership more accurately than any other leader. In addition, he is an indefatigable and immensely experienced administrator. Compare New York's political development with that of London! London is governed by a Labor Party majority, and Morrison, as secretary of the City Council, is that party's LaGuardia. Mr. Greenwood, the tired idealist, Mr. Dalton, the party's economic and foreign-policy specialist

What has actually happened to Britain's Labour Movement in Wartime?

Read—

BEVIN AND CO.

THE LEADERS OF BRITISH LABOUR

By Patricia Strauss

NO FEATURE of the present war is more astounding than the powerful role the leaders of labour are playing in Britain's government today. In the eyes of many it foreshadows a permanent change of vital importance not only to Britain but to the world. Who are these men; what are they like; what is their record of achievement? "A revelation of one source of the vitality of British morale," writes RAYMOND GRAM SWING of this brilliant book by the wife of the well-known Labour M. P. $2.50

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(and chief excommunicator), are well and justly described. Only once is Mrs. Strauss a little unjust in her portrait of Bevin. Bevin is a brutally powerful man, prodigiously competent and very conscious of the fact. He roars down, and sometimes clubs down, opposition. His arguments are hard to meet. But Mrs. Strauss's remark that he has never been a real recruiter is a mistake. Bevin's organization, the Transport and General Workers' Union, is the largest free union in the world. It was built, in its present form, by a process of confederation of smaller unions, and that in itself was a major feat of labor statesmanship. It brought within a powerful bargaining unit an old and weak organization of largely unskilled labor, the General Workers' Union, which immediately increased its membership. There are few such misestimates in this book, however, and for anyone seeking to understand the relation of the British democracy to the war, it should be compulsory reading. RALPH BATES

A Maine Saga

THOMAS-THOMAS-ANCIL-THOMAS. By Robert Peter Tristram Coffin. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THE Coombses of Maine always were a manly lot, vibrant with lust for life; fighting their country's battles against the Indians, the Rebs, the Germans; hammering out their own private grievances with hard knuckles against a rival's skill; tomcatting around at night; raising strong sons, always sons, with blond hair and turned-out toes just like their fathers'. Great-grandfather Thomas Coombs begot an eldest son named Thomas, who in turn begot Ancil, who begot Thomas, and the four of them become the composite hero of Mr. Coffin's curious novel.

But in place of the usual four-generation saga, with maps on the end papers and a genealogy on the flyleaf, the author has compressed the four lives into one by an ingenious mechanism of flashbacks, dreams, ancestral memories, in which the present Thomas Coombs relives the fights and loves of his male forbears. Once you become accustomed to its rather startling four-dimensional approach, the novel takes shape as a warmly felt story of America's past and present, and a paean to manhood's prime vigor, written in a poet's prose. LOUIS B. SALOMON

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

DONATELLO. Phaidon Edition. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

WHAT "MEIN KAMPF" MEANS TO AMERICA. By Francis Hackett. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.

ETHICS AND SOCIAL POLICY. By Wayne A. R. Leys. Prentice-Hall. $4.

EUROPE AT WAR. By David Low. Penguin. 25 cents.

SODOM BY THE SEA. An Affectionate History of Coney Island. By Oliver Pilat and Jo Ranson. Doubleday, Doran. $3.

THE CHINA OF CHIANG KAI-SHEK. By Paul M. A. Linebarger. World Peace Foundation. $2.50 cloth; $1.00 paper.

AMERICAN JOURNALISM. A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years, 1690 to 1940. By Frank Luther Mott. Macmillan. $5.50.

LABOR CASES AND MATERIALS. Readings on the Relation of Government to Labor. Edited by Carl Raushenbush and Emanuel Stein. Crofts. $4.

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IN BRIEF

ROD OF IRON: THE ABSOLUTE RULERS OF ENGLAND. By Milton Waldman. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and Cromwell are presented as the outstanding successes among British rulers from Henry VII to the Restoration, with King John dragged in as an unsuccessful forerunner. This is a very readable book, ably summarizing the chain of events and the chief actors' parts. The "timely" angle is a little overemphasized, however. Portraits of the three great rulers and their foil, Charles I, actually illustrate the theme.

THE IMMIGRANT IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By Marcus Lee Hansen. Edited with a Foreword by Arthur M. Schlesinger. Harvard University Press. $2.50.

When these nine essays, five of which are here published for the first time, were written, the period of immigration was thought to be at an end. The refugee problem has reopened it and gives peculiar value to this calm historical view of its various aspects by a scholar who was also the son of immigrants. The book is readable and suggestive.

NORTHWEST GATEWAY: THE STORY OF THE PORT OF SEATTLE. By Archie Binns. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

The third volume in the Seaport Series does not possess the intrinsic fascination of its predecessor on San Francisco. Mr. Binns tells the story well, however, from the very beginning of the town down to the recent troubles of the *Post-Intelligencer,* showing Seattle's part in the exciting history of the Northwest. The volume is well illustrated.

THE AMERICAN MINERS' ASSOCIATION. By Edward A. Wieck. Russell Sage Foundation. $2.

The United Mine Workers of America is generally accepted as a powerful, well-disciplined union. Little is known of the enormous effort which preceded its formation in 1890. It was a bitter and heroic struggle, extending over almost half a century. Edward A. Weick, a former miner and now research associate of the Russell Sage Foundation, has devoted several years to gathering and compiling from original sources an excellent account of this period in the miners' history. Students will find it invaluable. It is also recommended as compulsory reading for some present U. M. W. A. officials, as well as for labor leaders generally.

RECORDS

AMONG the July Columbia records that have not yet arrived is what should be Columbia's outstanding release of the month—the set of Mozart's Symphony in E flat made by Beecham with the London Philharmonic.

The orchestral releases that have arrived include a single disc (19004-D, $.75) with Stokowski's transcription of Bach's "Mein Jesu, was für Seelenweh befällt dir in Gethsemane," which he recorded for Victor with the Philadelphia Orchestra and has done now with the strings of the American Youth Orchestra. The meaning of Bach's piece is pretty well lost in all the whispering and thundering string sonorities that are superbly recorded except for the coldness that is in striking contrast to the warmth of the sound of the Philadelphia Orchestra on Victor. Another single disc (11567-D, $1) offers Tchaikovsky's Marche Slave, one of his less valuable works, well performed by Rodzinski with the Cleveland Orchestra, and recorded with a combination of hard brilliance and sonority that is at moments ear-shattering. Like balm to one's ears, after this, is the fine recording of excellent playing by the London Symphony under Weingartner that is wasted on Liszt's "Les Préludes" (Set X-198, $2.50).

Listening to Schumann's Quartet in A minor in Columbia's new set (454, $3.50) I have heard nothing to change my impression of the feebleness of Schumann's chamber music compared with his songs and piano music. The Roth Quartet's performance seems good; its recorded sound is unpleasantly nasal and metallic. Perhaps Columbia has knowledge of a great hunger for Schumann recorded by the Roth Quartet that I am unaware of; what I have knowledge of is an interest in Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert, and Haydn recorded by the Budapest Quartet that Columbia seems to be insufficiently aware of or impressed by.

In another set (455, $3.50) are a number of the children's pieces in Bartók's "Mikrokosomos." The accompanying notes tell us that children, because of their freedom from preconceptions, are the most receptive to the new procedures of modern music. That children like the pieces in "Mikrokosmos" I find it difficult to believe; but I write as an adult to whom Bartók's procedures don't convey the sense that even exercises in modern procedures should convey.

It may be that Ernst Wolff's irritatingly mannered singing makes it impossible for me to appreciate some of the songs by Bach and his sons (Set 457, $3.50) that I would find impressive or enjoyable if they were sung by someone with fine voice and art. Nor do I get any pleasure from Dvorák's "Songs My Mother Taught Me" and Haydn's "My Mother Bids Me Bind My Hair" as they are sung by Josephine Antoine (17276-D, $.75).

On the other hand, Columbia offers Jerome Kern's songs from "Show Boat"—among others "Ol' Man River," "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man," "Make Believe"—well sung by Paul Robeson, Helen Morgan, James Melton, and others of the original stage production with Victor Young's Orchestra, but harshly recorded (Set C-55, $3.10).

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO was Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic during the civil war. He is one of the founders of the newly formed Free World Association, an organization which will be devoted to revitalizing the international movement for collective security.

PETER F. DRUCKER, once financial editor of the *Frankfurter General Anzeiger,* has been a citizen of the United States for some years. He is a frequent contributor to *Harper's Magazine.*

F. EUGENE MELDER is assistant professor of economics and sociology at Clark University. RICHARD ELTON is a regular contributor to *Events.*

LOUISE BOGAN, poetry critic of the *New Yorker,* is the author of "Dark Summer" and "The Sleeping Fury."

RALPH BATES, distinguished English novelist, is the author of "The Fields of Paradise."

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